1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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[P. 253]

L-ÔYETYANI LOO-L-MAASAE
MASAI ENIGMAS

The propounder says, Oiyōta, Are you ready?
The others reply, E-ēuo, He has come (i.e. It is, *or* we are, ready). 524 539*

No. 1.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei	kumok,	naa
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my	many,	then

en-geju	nabo	eitashōya.
the-leg	one	they-make-to-stand.

Reply. Ol-popoñgi.
The-euphorbia-tree.

What do my warriors resemble when they stand on one leg?
The euphorbia tree.

[Masai men often stand on one foot and rest the other against the knee[1]. When in this position they are supposed to resemble the *Candelabra euphorbia*, which Sir H. Johnston[2] has described as being 'like a gigantic cabbage or cauliflower that has run to stalk, only to countless stalks, many-jointed, and of gouty thickness.'] [516]

No. 2.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei	kumok,	naa
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my	many,	then

ōbo	oipuñgōki	'n-gishu.
one	who-goes-out-to	the-cattle.

Reply. Il-loom le-'ng-aji.
The-rafters of-the-hut.

What are my warriors like? I have many of them, and one goes out to look after the cattle. The rafters of the hut.

[In Masai huts all the rafters are hidden except one which protrudes beyond the door. It is said to be watching the cattle.] [342]

No. 3.	Aata	'l-muran	lainei,	nemetii	
Enigma.	I-have	the-warriors	my,	and-it-is-not-there	

ol-le-bata.
the-of-end (*or* side).

[1] This mode of resting, uncomfortable as it may appear, is widespread (*vide* Junker, *Travels in Africa during the Years* 1875-8; James, *Wild Tribes of the Soudan*; Grogan and Sharpe, *From the Cape to Cairo*; Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, &c.). [13]

[2] *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 37.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Reply. 'N-jeito.
The-pegs.

What are my warriors like when they stand in a circle, and one cannot see which is the first and which is the last?

The pegs which are being used for pegging out a skin.

No. 4. Aata 'l-murran lanei ôkuni,
Enigma. I-have the-warriors my three,
nemedunge en-gigwena metii
and-it-does-not-become-cut the-consultation he-is-not-there
ol-li-ôkuni.
the-of-three (*or* third).

Reply. 'Soito le-'n-gima.
The-stones of-the-fire.

I have three warriors. What is a discussion between two *of* them like if the third is not present?

The stones used for standing the cooking-pots on at the fire.

[The cooking-pots cannot be successfully balanced between two stones, and a discussion does not terminate if only two people take part in it.]

No. 5. Aata 'n-dapan ainei are naariyo.
Enigma. I-have the-skins my two which-are-alike.

Reply. Eng-ai o en-gop.
The-heaven and the-earth.

I have two skins, one to lie on and the other to cover myself with. What are they? The bare ground and the sky.

No. 6. A-isullishe, nepwton 'l-colligua
Enigma. I-whistled, and-they-come the-who-come-from
'n-dimi.
the-forests.

Reply. Eng-ai nataaka.
The-rain which-rained.

I whistle, and they all come running from the forests. What am I? The rain.

No. 7. Ana-ije e-tue?
Enigma. Why he-has-come?

Reply. O-rord lai o ol-lima.
The-word my and yours.

Why do you say you are ready to guess my riddle?

Because it is a discussion between you and me.

MASAI ENIGMAS

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No. 8. *Enigma.*
Anake — Why
tado — she-is-long
ŋgutuŋyi — your-mother
nemeleiki — and-she-reaches-not
e-nyuwa — the-udder
e'n-gurr! — of-the-sheep!

Reply.
Eng-oltoi. — The-road.

What does your mother resemble? She is long, and yet she does not reach up to a sheep's udder. The road.

No. 9. *Enigma.*
Ashimo — I-went
enda-tim, — that-wood,
nashita — and-I-draw-forth (*or* usheeth)
'ŋgueidin — the-sticks
are. — two.

Reply.
Il-mao. — The-twins.

I went to bed *and brought forth two* sticks. What were they? Twins.

No. 10. *Enigma.*
Eiduruki, — It-has-been-moved,
neiŋgwuri — and-it-is-left-thither
en-dap — the-palm-of-the-hand
e-ŋgutuŋyi — of-your-mother
e-igh-a. — it-has-been-hung-up.

Reply.
Ol-aras — The-piece-of-hide-used-for-sweeping.

We have moved our kraal and your mother has left behind her the palm of her hand which has been hung up in the hut. What is it? The broom.

[The piece of hide which is used for sweeping away the dust and dirt is of so little value that when the inhabitants quit their kraal and move to a new grazing ground it is probably left suspended from the wall of the hut.] [356]

No. 11. *Enigma.*
Eiduruki, — It-has-been-moved,
neiŋgwuri — and-it-is-left-thither
e-sumbat — the-dressed-skin
e-miaŋyi — of-your-father
te-'neiŋgwai. — in-the-deserted-kraal.

Reply.
Ol-chaka. — The-dunghill.

We have moved our kraal, and your father has left behind him his garment. Where has he left it? On the dunghill.

[A man would not leave his dressed skin behind him unless it were worthless, and it is obvious, therefore, that it has been thrown away.]

524 No. 13. Kin kgotunyi yuiu loo
539 *Enigma.* She-passes your-mother middle outside-the-hut
enaishe en-naiu ʼnji.
It-is-protruding the-which-smokes thus.
Reply. En-gijo e'l-gurai nanapitai.
The-leg of-the-child which-is-hiding-survival.

When your mother leaves her hut, what is to be seen issuing from her garments? The leg of her child.

[854 488] [Masai matrons carry their babies fastened on to their backs, and a small leg is often to be seen dangling down, while the child's body is hidden from view.]

No. 13. Kin kgotunyi yuiu loo
Enigma. She-passes your-mother middle outside-the-hut
enaishe.
she-uses-sibilative-language.
Reply. E-kgotunyisi nanyalito en-ailguna.
The-woman who-is-chewing the-gum.

Why does your mother use sibilative language when she goes outside her hut? Because she is a woman eating gum.

[314 346] [Masai women are fond of chewing a gummy substance which exudes from certain trees. This makes their teeth stick together, and their jaws crack when they attempt to speak. If a person accosts them, and hears this noise, he may think the women are reviling him.]

No. 14. E-nanyat.
Enigma. The-strip-of-hide-used-to-cover-the-heads-of-arrows
nashai kotok.
which-is-wet point (*or* mouth *or* end).
Reply. Eng-ulisi naio engare.
The-road which-goes the-water.

What is a strip of hide like when the tip is wet?
A road which leads to the water.

[411] [The poisoned heads of arrows are wrapped up in a strip of hide to keep the poison fresh. This strip is narrow and long, and is wetted at one end with saliva to make it adhere.
There is some play on the word kotok, which refers to the point of the arrow, the end of the strip of hide, and the mouth.]

No. 15. Ekuna en-gop en-gina, nailgwasi
Enigma. It-has-eaten the-milk the-fire, and-it-burns-thither
naikare.
which-is-done-together (*or* something).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Reply. E-ar.
The-bare-spot.

What escapes a prairie fire?
A bare spot on which no grass grows.

No. 16. Naipenjuru ti-shori en-gima.
Enigma. Which-rolls-from-side-to-side under the-fire.

Reply. E-miyur enye 'ng-enyok.
The-essential-fat which-hurt the-eyes.

What must rolls about as if in agony when it is being cooked?
Fat, for its eyes (bubbles) hurt it.

No. 17. Nemenono te-'rust.
Enigma. Which-has-hidden-itself in-the-hut.

Reply. El-lashai entolushino 'l-enyk.
The-lions which-they-have-answered the-boys.

(The 'el ele thing which hides itself in its hut?
The lions which the boys answer.

[Ol pulon in rugs entie en oshai, ele gwalla in lasta iowuo eggi-ewa.]

No. 18. Nemenono te-'ewashai.
Enigma. Which-hides-itself in-the-well.

Reply. Eng-egwani entolo e-figisuva.
The-widow who-missed the-shooting (*or* cupping).

What hides itself against the wall of the hut?
The widow who was not present when blood was extracted from an ox.

[The Masai drink the hot frothing blood direct from the live cattle. After tying a leather ligature tightly round an animal's throat, an arrow is shot into one of the superficial veins of the neck. When the arrow is pulled out, the blood gushes forth, and is collected in gourds. The blood is drunk greedily by all present, but who will give any to the widow?] [342]

No. 19. Kyaiuna en-ditki nashai nelli
Enigma. This-here the-thing which-is-always which-is-there

eng-ai loyi, ainishilio.
the-last year, and-you-are-not-seeing-it.

Reply. Ol-ashisi.
The-finger.

What is the always thing which is always in your hut and which you don't notice? The finger.

524 * 539

No. 20. Nyelido, nyelle.
Enigma. That-there, this-here.
Reply. Ol-eiŋŋi le-kulle.
The-drop of-milk.

That there is the drop of milk at the bottom of the gourd; *this here* is the drop when the gourd has been tipped up into the mouth.

[Note the play on the words *nyelle* and *kulle*.]

No. 21. Oghishi ŋgoto nairanga.
Enigma. Poor the-mother who-gives-blood.
Reply. E-mala nalgoriakorshi, nalan
The-gourd which-was-shot-for, and-it-will-mix
o-earge.
the-blood.

Why is the mother weak?
Because they did not catch the blood in the gourd.

No. 22. Samburumburi mandetwa.
Enigma. Butterfly resemblance.
Reply. Ol-kile loo-'mootani.
The-garment of-the-beads.

What resembles a butterfly?
A garment with beads worked on it.

[554 30] [It is only the best dressed girls who wear skins ornamented with beads, and when they move about from one hut to another, they are supposed to resemble butterflies.]

No. 23. Tamanai te-ldya-mairo
Enigma. Go-by-a-roundabout-route round-that-part
o-'l-doinyo, pe kitumé
of-the-mountain, and we-get (*or* meet)-one-another
edo 'ng-aik.
they-are-blood-red the-hands.
Reply. El-lama.
The-fruit-of-a-blood-red-colour.

What will your hands be like if we meet after you have gone round that part of the mountain? The lama fruit.

[262] [This is a common wild fruit (*Kinamia amoriana*, L.) of which the Masai are very fond. It stains everything a blood-red colour.]

MASAI ENIGMAS

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No. 24.

Enjoma.	Tenemke	'n-dapun,	enagu	Kisikup	524
	Fold	the-skins,	set-up	Kisangup	534
Ngiip.	'N-giidge	on-'n-diais.			
	The-tails	of-the-bitches.			

What is folding up the skins and going to Kisangup like?
The bitches' tails.

[This is a well-known saying amongst the Masai of Kilima N'jaro. Kisangup (or better, Kisikup or Kisiksp) is the name of a sub-district near Naivasha, and is some 300 miles from Kilima N'jaro. It is supposed that the way there would resemble a bitch's curly tail.] [34]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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En-giguran.

Itadoa, en-giguran oo-'n-gurr oo-'l-Maasae kutiti, naa 'aitio oiterur arâki 'n-dulele[1], neiguranye áitaa 'n-gishu oo 'n-dare. Neitayu 'ng-ajijik oo-'n-guinghok áitaa 'ng-aligita, neitayu sii e-sere áitaa en-bere. Nenyor in-doiye kutiti 'l-figuraiyuk o-'l-darpoi, nâjo 'n-gura.

Ore 'l-ayuk lôtoro, nemira ti-otwa 'n-gishu. Neilguru en-giteig nabor, neitaa eng-aji. Neitashe ol-aytoi tîlo aboitare en-giteig, nepôo 'l-kulikae dimôori. Ore ten epwôna 'l-kulikae, nemir lido tîboitare en-giteig. Ore ol-dmiri neilulgi, nâji etaare 'l-malgoti áitanyanyukye; o ol-dtuo akuroa en-giteig aistye, netîpua ilio. Nâji inna-kiguraa flambwen.

Kata sii 'l-mdruak en-giguran enye o-'n-jata naata 'n-gumot kumok neitamanna 'aitio oeji 'n-dota. Nâji inna-kiguraa en-gubei.

Neiguraa sii 'l-muraa inna-kiguraa, kake nume taieig. Naata en-jata, oitobir 'n-gumot te-'n-gop aka.

O-ôtwa.

Ten aiyôo 'l-Maasae neitayu o-aitwa oo 'l-kulikae, aa 'l-malgoti aa 'l-oshom ootaaraia, neibeig il-muraa il-mdruak

[1] Ndomon ap.

Games.

Small Masai children collect pebbles or berries, with which they play at cattle and sheep. They also build huts and kraals in the sand, and they make spears out of bulrushes. Little girls make dolls of the fruit of the *mnangu*-tree[1]. 857 [824]

Big boys play about in the herds of cattle. They choose a quiet animal, and pretend it is a hut. One boy stands by the cow whilst the others go and hide. When the latter return, the one who is standing by the cow chases them away. If one of the boys who is driven off is caught, they say the enemy have killed him; anybody who manages to escape and touch the cow has won. This game is called flambwen.

The old men likewise have their game. This is played on a board containing many compartments, in which they circulate pebbles called 'n-dota. This game is called en-gubei. 524 [887]

The warriors also play this game, but they do not care about it much. They have no boards, and make holes in the earth.

Peace.

If the Masai make peace with other people, whether enemies or other Masai with whom they have fought, the warriors seize two in- 728 648

[1] Kipolo ap'Ilmasi, Bth.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

creatures, with the vultures and the storks, tore their flesh under the light of the moon. Nothing remained but a couple of grim skulls and some bloody bones when the sun rose over the grassy plain in the morning; and the young urchins of the kraal kicked them about and laughed as they threw them at one another.

MASAI MARRIED WOMEN, SIDE.

Such is the history of the commonplace life of Mawa as retailed to me by men who had lived with him as boy, warrior, and husband, and for whose accuracy and truthfulness I can vouch. The next traveller will listen to the same story, and will doubtless be able to verify the main features of the narrative.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child can run about a *small* ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Teeth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, and the boys have small sandals made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

Part II.—Boyhood.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan,

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

[With Plates XIII–XV.]

By D. Stonnes Fox.

Preface.

My excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1925 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 185–209) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already recorded by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them.

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other matters with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Arusha, Samburu Njempe and Nguruman, of doubtful origin and divergent customs to whom this article does not refer.

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth.

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I knew about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them.

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the matters on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

Childhood. Games.—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made crudely by their mothers of mud, which then dries. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, suckling it at her breast and rocking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *En-gai e e-sang'ap*, which means child of mud. (*See* Hollis, p. 321.)

231	613
233	614
262	643
304	721
411	754
524	759
564	802
595	805

[For mythological accounts of the origin of:

livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
honey as a source of food	360
board game	361
club carved of wood	362
blood as a source of food	362
blacksmiths	364
clans and lineages	368-369
counting and number words	370
7-day week	376
polygamy	377
ol oiboni and chief	377
circumcision	382
double-edged knife	382
sorcerers	382
physicians	362
mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

/36 cont./

512 [264] [462] [517] At one o'clock in the afternoon, the noon meal is eaten, after the men who have looked after the cattle in the pasture have returned. After the meal one takes a nap, plays a little game, or picks up some manual work (making articles of clothing or 524 adornment, clubs, gourd bottles, etc.). The principal game

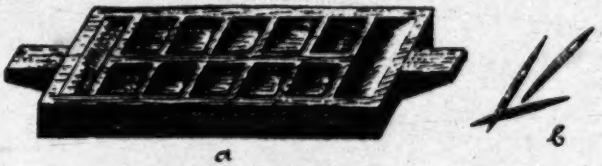

Fig. 8. 1/10.

of the Masai is the board game (en dodoi, en dodo) (Fig. 8). Two rows of six to ten depressions or compartments running side by side in a longitudinal direction are carved into a thick board about two feet long. The rules of the game are as follows: the board stands between two players; to each of them belongs the row facing him (ol mátua, el mátuan). Now each one places in each compartment (en qurtóto, 'n qurtót) of his row four stones (os sólđ, es sólđo) (2).

2. One uses for this round river-pebbles or the fruits of the ol gúlaṅgulu (Caesalpinia Bonducella Roxb.).

The player who starts takes the four stones out of one of the compartments of his row and puts one of them into each of the next compartments to the right. From the compartment in which he placed his last stone and in which there are now five, he removes these and, as before, places them in the next compartments, whereby he passes from his own row to that of the opponent. He proceeds in this manner until the last of the stones taken from a compartment happens to fall into an empty compartment.

/36 cont./

• 524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row, /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] [239] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gehé ('n gehén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

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Fig. 9. (1/10).

512
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262

When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

/54 cont./

539 datua (1)
533
854
[101]

1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

861 The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Boxing the ears or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might injure the health. If correction is necessary, [292] the mother -- and, to be sure, only she -- strikes the child rather lightly on the training surface with the belt that she wears after each confinement.

855 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the 857 life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still • 524 enjoy naiveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A foot-long fruit of the Kigelia aetiopica, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, rocked in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing sand between two stones. With the fruits of the Solanum campylacanthum they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

/54 cont./

857 together. They build a small hut about a foot high in the customary
524 shape, and, since they themselves cannot get into it, they place a few little stones in the doorway as their children. A pile of the aforementioned Solanum fruits represents their stock of cattle and donkeys, and another one of small stones signifies their herd of goats and sheep. Small pieces of wood represent the calabashes and other household equipment. The boy now drives the livestock to pasture, while his little wife cooks the food. Then he returns /55/ home and the two eat together. Meanwhile they decide that the pasture is no longer good and they must move on. But the Solanum "donkeys" are unable to carry the things, so they quickly tie a bast string to a piece of dry cow dung and thus make a sledge. Then everything is piled on it and the journey starts. In a few minutes the sledge is broken
857 and the game is over. If several boys are together, they like to play
526 war. They divide up into two, three, or four parties of equal strength, and each builds its kraal out of twigs, in which the livestock, as previously described, finds its place. Then the parties make surprise attacks on one another, the one steals the livestock of the other, the latter pursues the victor in order to recover the booty from it, and so on, until a few blows falling too roughly end the game, and it degenerates into a little row. Small boys often go out hunting with sharpened sticks and small bows and arrows for lizards, rats, and similar animals. They are then very proud over a success, and dance, sing, and boast, as they see this done by the warriors when they come back from an expedition. In the last two or three years before circumcision a fight for a piece of meat set out as a reward for the winners represents the favorite game of the boys. Two opposing parties fight over it, armed with sticks.

145 Puberty sets in at about the age of 12.